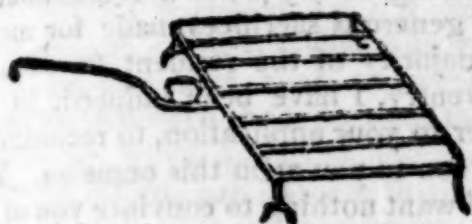


# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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## A CURIOUS WEEK!

*Bolt-court, 9. April, 1833.*

I, who expected to gallop off last Saturday, to get amongst the fields for a fortnight, and who had great need of it, have been kept here until to-day, by a series of circumstances the most curious, and the most interesting to the public, that can possibly be imagined. It is said by many, and by a famous poet in particular, that Providence never interferes in the affairs of men in an immediate and partial manner. For many years I have believed the contrary: so many instances have occurred to me, wherein I have yielded to an indescribable influence against my own previously concerted plans, and against my own settled judgment; and the result has shown so clearly how wrong I should have been if I had not thus yielded, that I cannot help believing, most firmly, in a superintending Providence interfering at times in the affairs of men and of nations.

No boy at the morning of breaking-up at school, ever was more on tip-toe to get home to his indulgent mother, than I was, last Friday morning, to get away to a little obscure parish, amongst the heaths of Surrey, thirty-six miles from London; and, if any body had come to Bolt-court on Saturday morning, and asked why I was not off, I could not have given an answer. After a long time on Saturday it seemed a sort of infatuation to remain; and, while I began seriously to think about setting off, came a letter from COVENTRY, requesting me to point out some fit per-

son to trip up the heels of ELLICE! Thus taken on a sudden; yet seeing the vast importance of the matter; seeing the vast importance of giving this famous blow, not only at the man who had voted all through for the Irish red-coat bill; but also at that family which seems to have a stomach of no bounds; seeing these things, I first made my appeal to a friend or two in the city; quite fit, in all respects. That having failed, owing to a modesty on their part which I cannot comprehend; and there being no time for making further inquiry, it being necessary to answer the letter on Saturday, I recommended my *second son*, the eldest being so situated, as to place, as for me to be able to get no answer from him before Monday at the soonest. These two sons are upon a perfect level in my estimation, with regard to a matter like this. Then, they are so ticklish as to such a matter; so *thin-skinned* as to anything being said about their merits, that I was obliged to make the offer without getting the consent of the son that I finally named. Thus situated, I did not know what to do; but, I resolved to do something at any rate; and, therefore, on Saturday I wrote the following letter, and sent it off to COVENTRY by the post of that night.

TO

Mr. ALEXANDER YATES,

*In reply to a Letter of his of 3. April, requesting me to name some person to represent the City of Coventry in Parliament.*

*Bolt-court, 6. April, 1833.*

SIR,—I received your letter last night, and I recommend you to put in nomination my son, JOHN M. COBBETT; not because he is my son; but because I think him more fit to aid me in doing the good that I wish to do to the country, than any other man that I know. He will be at Coventry on Tuesday morning; and it will be no mortification to him, if he should be obliged to de-

C

cline attempting anything; except that it will be a mortification to him, to find the city of Coventry so degraded as to be ready to re-elect a man, who forms one of the swarm of the Prime Minister's family, and who has got a place of thousands a year by the means of that seat in Parliament which Coventry has given him. In every instance, since you last elected him, he has voted for diminishing our liberties and augmenting our taxes. He has voted for navy estimates, amounting to nearly three times the sum that they amounted to during the last peace. He has voted for army estimates, amounting to nearly four times the sum that they amounted to during the last peace; he has voted for giving nearly seventeen thousand pounds, out of taxes, partly levied upon you, to purchase curiosities and to uphold a lounging-place for the idlers of London; and he has voted for a law for trying the people of Ireland by soldier-officers, instead of by judges and jurors. I do hope, that there is virtue enough amongst the men of Coventry, to make them resolve not to blast their characters for ever by the re-election of this man. To re-elect him would be to do your utmost to prevent your country from being rescued from utter ruin. The Ministry have deprived Ireland of the trial by jury and of the right of petition; they have rejected a motion for the diminishing of sinecures; they have told the nation that they mean to take off no taxes; they have declared their intention not to repeal the Septennial Act; and, as Mr. ELLICE now makes one of this Ministry, you, by re-electing him, will declare, that Ireland ought to be ruled by *martial-law*, and ought not to have the right of petition; and that there ought to be this precedent for inflicting the same upon England: you will declare to the nation, that no sinecures ought to be abolished: you will declare to the nation, that no taxes ought to be taken off: you will declare that seven years' parliaments ought to continue! Are you ready to make these declarations in the face of your country? I trust that you are not. If you be, to be treated

like slaves to the end of your lives would be punishment far too light for this crime against your country.

Hoping for other things, and always retaining in my mind a recollection of the generous sacrifices made for me by a majority of the resident freemen of Coventry, I have been induced, in answer to your application, to recommend my son to you upon this occasion. You will want nothing to convince you of the magnitude of my labours, and of the vast importance of a person on whose knowledge, talents, and fidelity I could always rely. I do much without such aid; but, alas! not a tenth of what I should be able to do with that aid. Life is uncertain; the continuance of health is, if possible, more uncertain. The bare reflection that my son was ready at hand to supply my place, would be a consolation, an encouragement, a support, such as I could find in nothing else.

By this time, at any rate, even my bitterest enemies must be convinced of my sincerity, my zeal and devotedness to my country. In none of these do I surpass this son; but, such are my feelings about the matter, that, if I knew of another man more capable, or as capable, of serving you and his country, I would name to you that man instead of my son. Far am I from believing, that his being chosen to be a member of Parliament would tend to add to his happiness; while, alas! I too well know how much it would add to his toils; but, I know, at the same time, that, in a crisis like this, it is his duty to tender his services to his country; and, having made that tender, his duty will have been discharged; and, if the tender be rejected, he will, amidst all the ruin and all the cries of his countrymen, have the consolation to reflect, that he has done everything in his power to prevent the calamities that shall call forth those cries.

I authorise you, sir, to make this letter public in any manner that you please, apprizing you, however, that talent, zeal, and devotion, are all that my son has to tender. Never did one belonging to him touch the public money;



and to expect him to expend money for the public, would be unreasonable, indeed. He will go to Coventry and tender you his services: if you accept of them, you will find in him a faithful representative: if you do not accept of them, he will return a happier man than he went; because he will have the reflection, that the sufferings which he has so long been desirous to relieve, are become fitted to the minds of at least one portion of his countrymen.

I am, Sir,  
your most obedient  
and most humble Servant,  
WM. COBBETT.

Along with this letter, of which I authorised the publication, I sent another to Mr. YATES, stating, that, if he and other friends thought that there was a fair chance of success, *by my going down and staying out the election, I would go*; and requesting to have an answer by the post on Monday. Thus were my precious holidays swallowed up until Monday noon. I must now go from the Coventry affair, for a little while, to another affair still more interesting; though, when I return to the COVENTRY affair again, that will be found to be most deeply interesting too.

On Monday morning, about nine o'clock, how great was my surprise, to find that RICHARD NEWSHAM, the fogged soldier of the 53rd regiment, was actually in my house at Bolt-court, where I myself was. My readers will recollect that I, in presenting a petition from this soldier (who was stationed AT HULL), on the 1. of April, gave notice that I should move for the petition to be printed and laid upon the table, and thereupon move for the *minutes of the courts-martial in Gibraltar*; the public will also recollect that Mr. GRANT, the Judge-Advocate-General, said that NEWSHAM was a very bad man; that he had been tried by six courts-martial; that he had *deserted*; and that he, the Judge-Advocate, should think it his duty to *oppose the motion*, of which I had given notice. These things remained when we sepa-

rated for the holidays, and when I was on tip-toe to get away out of the hearing of everything in London. Let the public read the following letter to the *Secretary-at-War*, and hear the *sequel* of it; and then cast aside, if it can, all notion of a superintending Providence.

Bolt-court, 8. April, 1833.

SIR,

I understand from RICHARD NEWSHAM himself, that he has been *sent to London and to you*, in order, as he is told, *to be sent to join his regiment at Gibraltar*; and he also tells me, that there is a *vessel in the river*, on board of which he expects to be sent *immediately away*! He says, that he would much rather be killed at once, in England, and have his body given to his wife and children. The circumstances connected with my presenting the petition of Newsham; the answer and declaration of Mr. Grant, the Judge-Advocate-general; the manner in which Newsham has been hurried up to town; his being *put in the black-hole last night for the manifest purpose of keeping him from me*: all these things, sir, are, if they were related publicly, calculated to fill every just man with horror: and, if they were to be consummated by the sending of Newsham out of the country, at the very moment when the whole nation knows that I am about to bring his cruel case before Parliament, you, sir, have too sound a head not to perceive the inevitable consequence with regard both to the public and the army.

I impute evil motives to nobody, and particularly, sir, to yourself; but I do hope, that, for the honour of the country, and in the sacred names of justice and mercy, that this poor man will not be sent out of the country.

Sir,

I have the honour to be,  
with great respect,  
your most humble,  
and most obedient servant,  
WM. COBBETT.

To the Right. Hon.  
The Secretary-at-War.

P.S. I send this by my secretary, who

will, I hope, be the bearer of an intimation from you, that Newsham shall not be sent out of the country.

Mr. ELLICE, who is now the Secretary-at-War, sent me word by Mr. GUTSELL, that Newsham *should not be sent out of the country*, and told Mr. GUTSELL to assure me, that *my letter gave him the very first knowledge that he had ever possessed relating to the matter!* Ah! who, then, gave the order to send this man away? Who signed the route, which brought him up to London, under an *escort!* He had committed *no new offence*: it is not alleged that he had: why put him in the *black-hole* in London?

The *details* must, however, be reserved for the present. This is *Tuesday noon*; and I must relate the official proceedings up to this time, leaving commentary for a later time. I got the following note from Mr. ELLICE this morning; and, to-day, at one o'clock, I sent the answer that follows it.

Mr. Ellice presents his compliments to Mr. Cobbett, and begs that he will have the goodness to call at the War-office to-morrow at one o'clock, should that hour suit his convenience.

Cleveland-square, 8. April, 1833.

Bolt-court, 9. April, 1833.

SIR,

YOUR note of yesterday was directed to this place, but carried to my house at Westminster, in consequence of which I answer it this morning, instead of having answered it last night. This is a specimen of the manner in which even the lowest underlings of Government perform the duties imposed upon them. If Newsham, who has probably about a tenth part of the pay of this letter-man, had acted thus, he would have been guilty of a "*disobedience of orders*;" which is only another phrase for "*mutiny*."

With regard to my going to the War-office to-day at one o'clock, my answer is this: that I never stepped my foot

into a Government office in the whole course of my life, and that I never will do it, unless I should live to see this taxing, policing, and barrack system brought to an end.

But, sir, I shall be extremely sorry to give you any unnecessary trouble in this business; and, therefore, I send Mr. GUTSELL, my secretary, to whom I beg you to have the goodness to communicate anything which you shall be pleased to desire to make known to me; it being, of course, understood, that this is a matter, the circumstances relative to which, must all be communicated to the public, first or last.

In the meanwhile, sir, I have to express to you my best thanks for the promptness of the answer which you had the goodness to send me yesterday by Mr. Gutsell, particularly as it contained an assurance that Newsham should not be sent out of the country; to which I have, with perfect sincerity, to add, that this was no more than I expected from your justice and humanity. I shall be glad to receive any communication that you have to make upon this subject; and I beg you to be assured, that this soldier, while I am labouring to protect him from wrong, will never hear from my lips anything, which shall, in the most distant manner, have a tendency to induce him to forget the sacred obligation which he contracted, to yield implicit obedience to all the lawful commands of his superior officers.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

with very great respect,

your most humble,

and most obedient Servant,

WM. COBBETT.

To the Right Hon.  
The Secretary-at-War.

Mr. Gutsell saw Mr. Ellice, the Adjutant-General, and another gentleman, who gave him an assurance, that NEWSHAM should not be sent away till after the investigation in Parliament. The conduct of the whole of them is reported by Mr. Gutsell to have been very polite; they all expressed a desire



that every thing fair should take place: and it appears that it was the Adjutant-General who released NEWSHAM from the black-hole on Sunday night. It appears that they are determined that NEWSHAM should be quartered somewhere near London, until the termination of the discussion in Parliament relative to his affair. For my part, all that I desire is, that justice may take place: I have exhorted NEWSHAM to behave unexceptionably well; and, during my absence from town, which will commence to-morrow (Wednesday), I have given direction that he shall have free quarter at my house at Westminster, where I know that they will be very careful to endeavour to keep him from doing wrong; for we are to make great allowances for this man, situated as he now is. He will have scores of people, especially soldiers, tempting him to drink, in order to hear his wonderful story, which he will be eager enough to relate. Therefore, very great allowances are to be made for him. He can neither write nor read: is a man naturally of very high spirit, tenacious of his rights, and persevering to the last degree. All this is not only excusable, but in fact, is virtuous; and if the exercise of these qualities sometimes amount to a military offence, a just man will view such offence with a lenient eye. With regard to the details of his treatment, during about nine years, I will not attempt to enter upon them in this place. I hope it may be found unnecessary to do it at all; for, though I abhor standing armies and barracks, I by no means wish, as long as they do exist, to render them more dangerous than, in their very nature, they always must be, in a state calling itself free.

To-morrow morning I set off for COVENTRY, to prevent, if possible, the return of a man who voted for red-coat courts of justice.

## THE LATE MR. KINLOCH,

MEMBER FOR DUNDEE.

It was my intention to have said something on the loss which the people had sustained by the death of this gentleman; but nothing that I could have said would be so befitting as the following address from the people of Glasgow to Mr. KINLOCH's constituents at DUNDEE, which I take from the *Glasgow Chronicle* of the 4. instant.

### GLASGOW POLITICAL UNION.

(From the *Glasgow Chronicle*, 4. April.)

At a public meeting of the Glasgow Political Union, held in the Lyceum-rooms, 2. April, 1833, JAMES TURNER, Esq. of Thrushgrove, V.P., in the chair,

It was moved by Mr. Peter Mackenzie, seconded by Mr. John Birkmyre, and unanimously resolved, That the following address on the recent lamented death of George Kinloch, Esq. of Kinloch, M.P. for Dundee, be now subscribed by the chairman, in name and on behalf of the union, and transmitted by him to the chairman of the Dundee Political Union.

FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN. — We address you for the first time with much sorrow, occasioned by the sudden death of your distinguished friend and representative, George Kinloch, Esq. of Kinloch.

Permit us to assure you, that of all the elections which recently took place in Scotland, under the Reform Bill, none gave us greater satisfaction than the election at Dundee.

It animated the friends of liberty throughout Scotland. It afforded to them this cheering reflection, which, we trust, will be remembered by their children, and their children's children, that the man who was obliged to flee from his country, and to become an outlaw for it, because he had the virtue, and the rare public courage to stand forward on the 22d day of December, 1819, and to proclaim in fervid, and as we shall now take leave to say, in appropriate, and therefore not seditious language,—

the doom of despotism, and the retribution that awaited, as it still surely awaits, the wilful shedders of innocent blood at Manchester—should afterwards, and on that very day thirteen years, be triumphantly elected by thousands of freemen in his native town, as their representative in the first reformed Parliament.

Fellow-Countrymen—We applauded your choice—we almost envied your situation. For, in thus electing Mr. Kinloch, of Kinloch, you did honour to yourselves—you rewarded patriotism, and held out a great example to all your countrymen.

Nor did you confer this honour on Mr. Kinloch for the reasons alone to which we have adverted. You were aware of his sterling abilities and private virtues. You knew that the principles of civil and religious liberty were enshrined in his heart.

It is, we cannot help noticing, a striking feature in his short but honourable career, that he was the *first* member from Scotland who took his seat in the House of Commons for the present Parliament, as he was the *only* Scottish member who appeared in the memorable minority on the *first* division in that House; while now we have to mourn the fact, that he is the *first* member removed by the hand of death.

We honour, we revere his memory, not only for the above reasons, but because we know that he remained faithful to his political promises and principles to the last, unlike many of our other Scottish members, in whom we thought we might with equal confidence have confided; but who, unfortunately for themselves, if we may be permitted to judge from their own conduct, only employed "the word of promise to the ear to break it to the hope."

It has occasioned us much concern to think that the invaluable life of Mr. Kinloch has, in all human probability, been sacrificed to the incessant care and anxiety he manifested to protect the rights and liberties of eight millions of our fellow-subjects in Ireland, from one of the most arbitrary and despotic bills which, we take leave to say, was ever

introduced to Parliament in its worst history,

We cannot, fellow-countrymen, make known to you all the sentiments that agitate us on the present occasion. But we beg of you to accept this sincere and heartfelt expression of regret, for the great, the irreparable loss, which you have sustained, with the nation at large, by the death of your honoured representative.

We know that the inhabitants of Dundee had the honour to produce one distinguished martyr to the cause of liberty and justice in the year 1793, in the person of the virtuous and memorable Thomas F. Palmer. We had almost said that they have produced another martyr to that cause in the year 1833, in the person of the now-lamented George Kinloch, of Kinloch.

In conclusion, fellow-countrymen, we would now invoke the sacred name of liberty, and fervently pray that, as you have been distinguished by your patriotism in times past, so you will now endeavour to place the mantle of the patriot, Kinloch of Kinloch, on some one who will at least endeavour to tread in his footsteps."

JAMES TURNER, Chairman.

Extracted from the Minutes.

A. HEDDERWICK, Secretary.

## DISTRESS IN SCOTLAND.

I TAKE the following from the *Glasgow Free Press* of the 6. instant; and I beg my readers to look at this matter attentively. What a strong confirmation of the statements of my honourable colleague, Mr. FIELDEN! Here are NO ANONYMOUS communications: no general assertions; but facts clearly proved, and that, too in the most solemn manner. Though the "reformed" House of Commons refused even to *inquire* into the distresses of the country, the people, it seems, are determined that the *truth* shall be known. This is the sensible way of proceeding; this is the way to shame those who, whilst they are fattening on the industry of



the people, deny the existence of distress to any extent.

#### CONDITION OF THE OPERATIVE WEAVERS.

The subject to which the following affidavits have reference, is so extremely important and interesting, that we stretch a point, notwithstanding their length, to give them a place. In explanation it may be necessary to state, that in consequence of the incongruous information which has been elicited of late in the House of Commons, respecting the real condition of the labouring classes, it was thought proper, at a public meeting, to appoint a committee to inquire into the state of those in and around this place. As the population, with few exceptions, consists altogether of hand-loom weavers, the committee considered it unnecessary to carry their researches farther than that class; and to arrive with accuracy at their real earnings, a number of weaving agents were desired to examine their books with the greatest care, and find out what was the net money each weaver had got, whom they had employed, during the last three months. The average is seen in their depositions; and, to put it beyond the possibility of a quibble, it was thought proper to take them upon oath. A petition founded on the fact is in course of preparation, praying for inquiry into the cause of distress, and will be dispatched to Mr. Gillon immediately. If many such petitions and affidavits were laid before the House, a motion similar to that of Mr. Attwood's would not be rejected a second time:

Upon this 26th day of March, 1833, appeared before the bailie and councillors of the burgh of Kilsyth, James Morrison, weaving agent, who depones and saith, that he has been employed as a weaving agent in Kilsyth for several years. That it is consistent with his knowledge, that the price paid for hand-loom weaving during said period, has, compared with the former state of trade, house-rent, and provisions, been very low. That, from daily intercourse with those employed by him, he is aware

that great destitution and poverty prevail among them. And he further depones and saith, that in order to ascertain the average amount of wages received by said hand-loom weavers, deponent hath examined and collated his books and accounts, and findeth that, during the last three months, the said average rate of wages paid to, and received by said hand-loom weavers, amounts to, and does not exceed, the sum of three shillings and tenpence halfpenny per week, from which one shilling per week must be deducted for loom-rent and candles, leaving them only two shillings and tenpence halfpenny per week for house-rent, food, clothing, children's education, church accommodation, and other numerous incidental charges. And deponent farther saith, that it is consistent with his knowledge and belief, that the said average amount of wages has been lower than just now stated within, and during the last twelvemonths. And this is truth, as deponent shall answer to God.

JAMES MORRISON.

JAMES INGLIS, Bailie.

Upon the same day and manner compared Alexander Abercrombie, agent, who, being examined *ut supra*, depones and saith, that he agrees with the preceding witness in all things, with this difference, that the wages paid to the weavers employed by him amount to, and do not exceed the sum of *two shillings and elevenpence halfpenny*, after deducting the necessary expenses incurred in finishing the work. And this is truth, as deponent shall answer to God.

ALEXANDER ABERCROMBIE.

JAMES INGLIS, Bailie.

Upon the same day and manner compared Robert Anderson, weaving agent, who being examined *ut supra*, depones and saith, that he agrees with the preceding witnesses in all things, with this difference, that the wages paid to the weavers employed by him, amount to, and do not exceed the sum of *three shillings and fourpence three farthings* per week, after deducting, in a very moderate calculation, what is necessary for



finishing the work. And this is truth, as deponent shall answer to God.

ROBERT ANDERSON.

JAMES INGLIS, Bailie.

Upon the same day and manner compeared Henry Rankin, weaving agent, who being examined *ut supra*, depones and saith, that he agrees with the preceding witnesses in all things, with this difference, that the wages paid to the hand-loom weavers employed by him amount to, and do not exceed the sum of *three shillings and threepence per week*, after deducting the necessary expenses incurred in finishing the work. And this is truth, as the deponent shall answer to God.

HENRY RANKIN.

JAMES INGLIS, Bailie.

Council Chambers, Kilsyth,  
March 26, 1833.

Upon the            day compeared William Jack, weaving agent, who, being examined *ut supra*, depones and saith, that he agrees with the preceding witnesses in all things, with this difference, that the wages paid to the weavers employed by him amount to, and do not exceed the sum of *two shillings and tenpence per week*, after deducting the necessary expenses incurred in finishing the work. And this is truth, as deponent shall answer to God.

WILLIAM JACK.

JAMES INGLIS, Bailie.

At Kilsyth, this 26th day of March, 1833, appeared before the bailie and councillors of the burgh of Kilsyth, Daniel Taylor, weaver, Kilsyth, aged 49 years, who depones and saith that he has been a weaver for thirty-four years. Recollects that a description of goods called lappets was introduced at that period; that these goods were at that time paid at the rate of one shilling and sixpence per ell: and the deponent is not aware of any goods of precisely the same description now going, but from his knowledge of the rates presently paid for goods of a nearly similar description, that were these now in demand, they would not be paid at more than twopence-halfpenny per ell.

And deponent further states, that the depreciation has been in the ratio just now stated.

And deponent further saith, that pullicates, wrought in a 1,200 reed, have been a common kind of work wrought in and about Kilsyth for more than thirty years; that within said period he has known ninepence per ell paid for weaving this description of work; that during the last twenty years and more, the prices paid for weaving have been generally on the decline; and that *one penny three farthings* is all that is given for what was formerly paid at *ninepence* per ell.

And deponent farther states, that all descriptions of goods with which he is acquainted, have fallen in the price paid for weaving in the same proportion. And deponent saith, that certain incidental expenses, such as loom-stead, rent and candles, cannot be furnished for less than one shilling per week.—And all this is truth, as he shall answer to God.

DANIEL TAYLOR.

JAMES INGLIS, Bailie.

Upon the same day compeared James Bankier, weaver in Kilsyth, aged 48, who, being interrogated, depones and saith, that he agrees with the preceding witness in all things, with this difference, that starching webs, carriage, and twisting, amounting to five per cent., appear not to be included in the statement made by the preceding witness. And all this is truth, as he shall answer to God.

JAMES BANKIER.

JAMES INGLIS, Bailie.

Upon the same day compeared Andrew Findlay, weaver in Kilsyth, aged 42, who depones and saith, that he has been employed as a weaver for thirty years; has been paid for weaving 1,200 pullicates *ninepence* per ell, and has known others paid *ninepence halfpenny* for weaving a similar description of goods; and he farther states, that, within these last few years, he has wrought the same description of work as low as *one penny farthing* per ell. In all other things he agrees with the



last witness. And all this is truth, as he shall answer to God.

A. FINDLAY.

JAMES INGLIS, Bailie.

Upon the same day compeared Daniel M'Farlane, weaver in Kilsyth, aged 54; has been employed as a weaver about forty-three years, is generally acquainted with the different descriptions of work that have been wrought in and about Kilsyth for more than twenty years; that he has been acquainted with the condition and habits of the working population during the period above stated, and that he has observed a great deterioration in the domestic comfort of the people around him, arising, in his apprehension, from the great reduction in the rate of wages paid to workmen, in all the departments that he is acquainted with in the manufacture of cotton goods. That the people generally are *poorly fed, and worse clothed*; that people in his situation of life are frequently compelled to neglect the education of their children, partly from poverty, and partly from the pressing demands made upon them, to avail themselves of the earliest possible opportunity of increasing their income, by the labours of their infant children. And deponent farther states, that he agrees with the preceding witnesses in all other things. And all this is truth, as he shall answer to God.

DANIEL M'FARLANE.

JAMES INGLIS, Bailie.

Council Chambers, Kilsyth,

March 26, 1833.

Kilsyth, 28. March, 1833.

I have long been acquainted with the above deponents, and have no reason to question the truth of what they have said. In the course of discharging his duty, the subscriber has been called for more than thirty years, statedly and occasionally, to visit many families in this place and neighbourhood, and is well acquainted with their circumstances. He has of late years observed a progressive deterioration in household furniture, and the dress of parents and children. He knows that in various cases the education of the young has

been neglected through poverty, and the attendance of the aged on the public services of religion has been given up through want of proper clothing. That friendly and charitable institutions are allowed to languish, and the necessities of life in many cases procured with difficulty. Every thing, indeed, bespeaks a state of wretched destitution, and unless some means be devised for alleviating the public distress, the most deplorable consequences may be expected.

JOHN ANDERSON, Minister.

I feel myself called upon to declare that the preceding facts and statements are consistent with the knowledge and experience of seventeen years, which I have had among the class of the community referred to.

JAMES INGLIS, Bailie.

Kilsyth, 1. April, 1833.

Kilsyth, 1. April, 1833.

I have examined the above statements, and am acquainted more or less with the individuals who have made said statements upon oath, and I attach entire credit to the fidelity and accuracy of their report as to the lamentably low state of the weaving department of our trade. I have known this place for nearly twelve years past, during which period the weaving conducted here has been all along in a depressed state, and the effects are but too apparent in the diminution of comfort in domestic life, neglect of education, and attendance to religious ordinances, occasioned in many instances by depressed circumstances.

WILLIAM BURNS, Minister

of the Parish of Kilsyth.

We, subscribing to the above statement as consisting with our knowledge, have in addition, to state, that the weekly earnings as above, low as they are, go on the supposition that the weavers have *constant* employment, and labour the usual hours, that is, *fourteen hours a day*.

JAMES LANG, Elder.

ALEX. HENDERSON, Elder.

(From the Glasgow Free Press.)

**KIRKINTILLOCH.** — Owing to their long-continued distress, in consequence of the lowness of wages, and after having had some correspondence with the weavers' committee of Glasgow, the weavers in and around Kirkintilloch, thought it advisable to call a general meeting of their body, to take into consideration the propriety of petitioning Parliament for the establishment of a board of trade, upon the plan proposed by the weavers of Glasgow. The meeting accordingly took place here, in the New-Light Burgher Meeting-house, on the 12. March, when Mr. W. Steven was unanimously called to the chair. After stating the object of the meeting, and making a few sensible remarks upon their miserable condition, he concluded by expressing it as his opinion, that they, in conjunction with all the hand-loom weavers in the country, ought to make one simultaneous struggle to free themselves from what he might say was worse than Egyptian bondage. A few pithy resolutions were then read, moved, and seconded, and unanimously adopted. A petition founded upon these resolutions was then read and agreed to. After which the meeting was addressed by a delegate from Glasgow, who read a letter sent from the hand-loom weavers of Bolton, who were also in progress of petitioning Parliament for the same object. After having given votes of thanks to the chairman and others who conducted the business, they immediately dispersed.

This meeting was composed of decent clean tradesmen, of from 10 to 70 years of age, who all conducted themselves with the greatest propriety and good order, during the whole proceedings. But amongst them could be perceived countenances which told, in language not to be misunderstood, that all was not right—that within there were the yawnings of nature for food—that by their once-comfortable firesides there were the infant but unavailing clamours for bread, with the once-cheerful but now-famished and disconsolate wife. Would that some of those had been present who receive their thousands and

tens of thousands of public money, for doing almost literally nothing. Perhaps the sight would have brought a shake of the head from a Lord Althorp had he been present, although he and others can solemnly declare that they do not believe there is much distress in the country.

The committee next ordered the clerk to write to J. C. Colquhoun, Esq., M.P., desiring his support when the petition should be sent, to which he returned the following answer :

London, March 11, 1833.

SIR,—I had the pleasure of receiving your letter relative to the petition which it is purposed by the weavers of Kirkintilloch to address to Parliament for the establishment of a board of trade. You may depend upon me presenting your petition, and corroborating from my own personal knowledge the severe distress under which the weavers of Kirkintilloch, as well as the west of Scotland, are suffering. I wish I could hope for any relief to this from the proposed board, *as in that case* I should most cordially support it; and it is only my apprehension that the plan proposed, of fixing the prices of the fabrics of cotton, silk, and wool, is one which cannot be carried into effect, and which, if it could, would not, I fear, afford practical relief, which prevents me from pledging a positive support on my part to the object of your petition. If I can be convinced that it will benefit you, no one will support it more cordially, as I believe I may say that no one feels more anxiously for your present distress. I am sure you would not ask me to support it if I could not discover any benefit to arise from the plan proposed. I have had a communication with the members for Glasgow, to whom the weavers of Glasgow had written on the subject; their answer, and a letter from the Vice-President of the Board of Trade, will, I have no doubt, be communicated to you, or you can have access to it by applying to the committee of the weavers of Glasgow. I assure you that the signatures of electors, deeply as I feel indebted to my friends at Kirkintilloch,



are not necessary to induce me to take an interest in a petition emanating from the weavers of Kirkintilloch, and in any thing which they may conceive has a tendency to promote their welfare, in which I feel so anxious a desire to be able to promote.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

JOHN C. COLQUHOUN.

Mr. David Horn.

The petitions were sent off, accompanied with the following letter :

*Kirkintilloch, 20. March, 1833.*

SIR,—Yours we received of date 11. March, in answer to ours of date 8. curt., and take this opportunity of expressing our gratitude for your promptitude in attending thereto, and for the interest you seem to take in our prosperity. With the same post you will receive our petition, signed by 880 weavers; also a petition from Waterside, parish of Kirkintilloch, and Torrens, parish of Campste, signed by 660 weavers, both of which we hope you will lose no time in presenting unto the hon. the Commons' House of Parliament. It was our intention to have joined the whole into one petition, but such is our extreme poverty, that we could not command as much cash as pay the postage for extra weight. We are sorry that you seem to entertain doubts relative to the practicability and utility of our proposed plan. For our views on this subject, we refer you to the circulars sent by the Weavers' Committee of Glasgow, which we think throw some light on the subject. We have seen the letter you referred to as published in the Glasgow newspapers, of the hon. the Vice-President of the Board of Trade, and with all deference to the high station, great talents, and vast experience of the hon. President, we beg leave humbly to differ from him in opinion on this subject. The practicability of the plan proposed, seems to us all but self-evident. We wish not to cramp the energies of our employers, by wishing a fixed price for our labour, which they cannot at all times pay. No; all we wish for is, that whatever the majority of our respectable manufacturers say they are able to pay

for the time being, should be the minimum price, until such time as they in conjunction with a committee of weavers, should see meet to alter or amend the same. And that such an understanding should exist between manufacturers and their weavers, as that this rule should be observed by both parties under a given penalty imposed by Government. In short, we wish for nothing more than the benefit of what almost all other mechanics possess within the compass of their own power, and the exercise of which, for their own benefit, seems even in the eye of Government itself so necessary, that it has received the sanction of the legislature under the Combination Act; the necessary benefit of which, however, we are deprived of, and what is worse, under circumstances which deprives us of all hope of ever enjoying its benefits, but for the interference of the legislature in our behalf. This, sir, is the sum of our petition. But we will, perhaps, be told by those who are ignorant of the ruinous nature of the complained-of grievance, that we are wrong, that it is the power of steam with which we have to contend, and that it is that which brings down our wages to such a low ebb; but we must humbly tell such that we believe no such thing. We grant, indeed, that steam has been the means of reducing the price of our labour to a certain degree; but we cannot think that it could bring the price of hand-loom labour below what it could be done for by steam. Be this as it may, we are willing to contend with the steam, for we know its power; but we can no longer contend with the low infatuated adventuring manufacturers, the power of whose avarice presses us almost to death; an avarice, the depth and power of which is beyond the ken of the most enlightened statesman or philosopher. A stronger proof of the practicability of the proposed plan, need scarcely be given than this, that the continual cry of our employers is, Get such and such houses to raise their prices, or else we will be necessitated to bring down our prices to a level with theirs. But it may be said, to interfere with the free-

dom of trade, is bad policy. If all things were conducted upon free and equitable principles, we would say so too; but such you are aware is not the case. And hence the reason we ask for legislative interference in our behalf. Is it bad policy for Government to interfere in a country molested with marauders and murderers? To introduce severe, nay even martial law, in such circumstances, seems necessary, and seems to be the opinion of those who hold the highest situation in our state. Now, sir, the only difference between our case and that of the peaceable inhabitants of such a country is, that they are driven from their houses by ruffians; we by our feeling, but embarrassed landlords. They are murdered by the bludgeon; we by starvation. They, by persons justly liable to the most ignominious punishment; we, by persons under the protection of a law, which the hon. President seems to think it would be impracticable to alter, and sees no expedient to demand such an alteration. And most of this distress occasioned, we conceive, in consequence of the want of the remedy for which we pray. If in the case of Ireland (admitting all to be true that is said of her) such measures as are pending in Parliament are deemed expedient, surely, surely they will not be so inconsistent as to deny us our request. But what most of all astonishes us, is the hon. President's affirmation, that the proposed plan is neither practicable nor expedient. What can he mean by not expedient? Does he mean that our circumstances will otherwise soon be bettered; that some thousands of our idle sinecurists and pensioners, who never did a plack's worth of good to their country, are to be paid off; that the enormous load of taxes under which we groan, will soon be lifted from our shoulders, and thus the necessities of life will be reduced in conformity to our small incomes? Or, does he mean that our foreign commerce is about to be extended, and that great demands for our labour will raise its price, without the legislative enactment we seek to obtain? Or, does he mean that our

circumstances are not so bad as to require such interference? The first of these opinions cannot be his, otherwise such an important item could not have been omitted in his brief letter,—and as for the extension of our foreign commerce, it would by no means do away the evil of which we complain. And if it be possible that he be yet ignorant of our distress, we would humbly refer him to our manufacturers' own books; to the many pitiful details of our distress which have of late appeared in the public newspapers; and also the memorials which have been sent to Lord Althorp. And if he still be unconvinced, we would ask him the following questions: Does the almost absolute starvation of nearly a fourth part of the intelligent mechanics of the country, not call loudly for some legislative interference in their behalf? Does the wretchedness of our children, the fast declining and almost desolate state of our manners, occasioned for want of education,—added to the unfeeling and infatuated conduct of a number of ruthless and unprincipled speculators, not form a sufficient expedient to justify legislative interference? Such facts may neither touch the feelings, nor convince the judgment of the hon. President, and he may still adhere to his former opinions. But we certainly will be greatly mistaken, if you, who of late travelled amongst us, and with your own eyes saw our distress, and heard our mournful tale, and again and again gave us reason to believe that your enlightened judgment was on the rack to find out expedients for our relief, and that your refined and energetic feelings were participating in all our sorrows—we say, that if, after all this, we be disappointed of your support, we will be disappointed indeed. But we hope better things, and that you will, with all the energies of your soul, wield your mighty sword of eloquence in behalf of your distressed constituents and countrymen, and you will thus embalm yourself in our affections, and we, with grateful hearts, will aid in handing your name down to posterity, as the friend and benefactor of man; and thus will



an honour and a benefit be conferred upon you, more glorious, and more lasting, and satisfactory to your enlightened mind, than all the honours and emoluments that the highest office in this great empire could bestow.

DAVID HORN, Secretary.

To J. C. Colquhoun, Esq., M.P.

To the foregoing Mr. Colquhoun sent the following reply :

London, 29. March, 1833.

DEAR SIR,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 28th, and of the two petitions from the weavers of Kirkintilloch, and of Waterside, Torrance, which reached me this morning. It will be, I fear, some time before I can possibly present them, as my name stands low on the list now, and the names are taken in their order; but the moment my name comes on, your petitions, along with many more on different subjects which I hold, will be presented.

You do me more than justice in believing that I deeply sympathize in your distress—so much so, that I was induced, principally by my feeling of anxiety on that subject, occasioned by what I saw at Kirkintilloch of the condition of the weavers, to vote for Mr. Attwood's motion, for a committee to inquire into the causes and remedy for the distress of the country. I am very far from agreeing with Mr. Attwood in his motion, that the distress can be relieved by a change in the currency, which I take to be as absurd as the idea would be, that we should get more corn by changing the measures by which we measure it; nor can I agree with those who expect that the condition of the operative classes can be directly relieved by a reduction of taxes. I believe the reduction of taxes to be a great and imperative duty, and to be useful in its effects upon our foreign trade, in which way it affects (indirectly) the industry of the country. But I see no hope of direct relief to the operative from reduced taxation, as I fear you would find now, as you have found since the war, that as taxes were taken off the

necessaries of life, prices would fall, and the wages of labour also. Such has been our past experience—such would be, if I do not greatly mistake it, our future history. I far rather agree with you—whose aim to me to go much nearer the root of the matter in your present wish to fix the *rate of prices*, and the *consequent rate of wages*. I honestly assure you, that your scheme is, to my mind, much more reasonable, as a scheme of relief to national distress, than the scheme of the political economists, who bid us look to relief from changes in the currency, or a reduction in the taxation. My doubt is (as I hinted before) whether practically your views can be carried into effect. You will observe that the evil you complain of, is not the effect of any combination on the part of the manufacturers to reduce prices, which reduction falls upon you—it is the effect of the *underselling of a few*, who disturb the fixed rate of prices, and force the combined body of manufacturers to fall down upon a lower level of prices. This is the evil which you state to me as the result of your experience. Now the law which you wish, would, in establishing a board, only legalize as it were this, which already exists—the natural wish of manufacturers to keep up a certain fair scale of prices; but the law would not reach, because it could be easily evaded by the few who would continue in spite of the law to undersell their neighbours, and bring down the scale of prices. It would, in fact, give them a premium, as I am afraid you would find that a law of this nature would be evaded by the dishonest, and observed only by the honest, who would be the great sufferers. I suspect you would prove, that in the prices of your manufacture, as in the prices of all articles, the rate is fixed by a general competition, over which the law has no power; and if you attempted to fix a limit beyond which the competition should not pass, the limit would be set up by law, but the competition would creep under, and escape into the lower field from which you wish to exclude it. In a contest between an artificial

law and the natural operation of demand or supply, it has been always found that the latter triumphs, and the former becomes a dead letter,—and so I fear it would be in this case. I throw out my views hastily: but I state them lest you should think I do not give my attention to the subject. They are, however, quite open to conviction, and I shall rejoice to be convinced that there is a way in which the legislature can assist you, whatever doubts I may have upon the point. That is my only difficulty, for my wish is to serve you; and I would seek your relief by any laws which I could believe would serve you. It is painful to me (more painful than I can express), to see your sufferings, and to feel the weakness of legislative power to help you. Pray express my sympathy and sincere good wishes to all the petitioners, and believe me, with great sincerity,—dear Sir, yours, &c. JOHN C. COLQUHOUN.

Mr. Horn.

P.S.—I ought to add that the terms and reasoning of your letter impress me with feelings of the highest respect and esteem.

TO THE

RIGHT HON. LORD ALTHORP.

MY LORD.—Deeply interested as I am in the manufacture of one of the principal necessities of life, soap, I shall not waste your Lordship's time in apologizing for addressing to you a few plain observations on the state of that trade, and on the policy and necessity both of a remission of the enormous impost upon the article, and of an alteration in the mode by which that impost is secured and collected. Though no advocate of that system which renders necessary a scale of taxation unheard of in any other age or country, I yet certainly do not, my Lord, submit these remarks in what your Lordship may perhaps be inclined to deem an "ignorant impatience" of being taxed. On the contrary, I shall take care to show that the alterations I propose are fairly consist-

ent with the integrity of the revenue, at the same time, that they will, beyond a doubt, afford an immense boon to the public, and a proper benefit to the manufacturer, who has a right to reap a fair profit for the employment of his capital, time, and talent. With the system which renders this tax necessary I shall not meddle; but shall merely point out to your Lordship the extremely heavy pressure of the tax upon all classes, but most especially the labouring classes. I shall next show your Lordship the great temptation and facilities for evading the duties under the present system, and then proceed to try to convince your Lordship, that a great remission of the present duties, under proper regulations, is perfectly compatible with the interests of the revenue: and *first* as to the burden of the present duty. The hard soap duty is, as your Lordship knows, 28s. per cwt. or 3d. per lb. upon the article hard soap, including all kinds, those used by the rich as well as by the poor, this being a little diminished by the allowance of tenths for shrinkage, or for whatever consideration it was allowed. I should think, however, that the duty actually paid cannot be stated at less than 26s. per cwt. and is probably a little more. Looking then at the amount of this duty, which, be it remembered, was the "*war duty*," I beg your Lordship to observe that the present manufacturers' selling price for ordinary good bright yellow soap, is 57s. per cwt., for inferior brown soap, 53s. per cwt. The wholesale grocer adds to this, from 1s. to 2s. per cwt. and the retailer 4s. more as their profits, so that the consumer is paying 60s. to 61s., or 6½d. lb., per cwt. for good bright yellow soap, and 58s., or 6¼d. lb., for inferior brown soap. Thus to the poor man who uses the worst kind, your Lordship sees the duty amounts nearly to one hundred per cent. upon the article. To the rich man the case is different; he uses the finest scented curd or white soap, for which the manufacturers' price is 71s. per cwt. and the retailers' about 77s. per cwt. or 8¼d. per lb. upon which the duty of threepence is not above 70 per



cent. thus making about 30 per cent. difference in favour of the rich above the poor consumer. In addition to this, I need not observe to your Lordship that, the labouring man must necessarily use more soap than he who is exempted from the duties of the workshop, the warehouse, or the manufactory, nor has he the same means with the rich of keeping his children clean, and therefore, the cleansing material is to him far more a necessary of life than to the rich. I now turn to the second branch of my subject, the facilities for smuggling which exist under the present most imperfect and inefficient regulations. They are innumerable, by one who has not had the advantage of practice to enable him to complete his list—and many as they are your Lordship need not doubt they will be taken advantage of when it is considered, that, at present, by smuggling a single ton of hard soap in a week, any person may nett a clear income of 1,200*l.* per annum—and so on in proportion. If human nature were even better than it is, my Lord, it would be folly to expect that temptations like these will not be too often yielded to, and I shall, therefore, insist no further on the absolute necessity of curing, or attempting to cure, the imperfections of the present system, as soon as they can be pointed out. The great facilities for smuggling soap, have arisen, I beg your Lordship to observe, from the reduction of the salt tax, the tax on brimstone, and the candle duty, added to the inefficient regulations of the excise. Before the remission of the salt tax, hard soap was necessarily made nearly altogether from barilla and kelp, wood ashes being generally far too dear to be much employed; and these substances, embarrassed the smuggler by the refuse they leave, which he could neither keep nor get rid of, without great difficulty and suspicion. Since, however, the decomposition of common salt by means of oil of vitrol, has opened out the manufacture of British barilla or rather soda, a fine alkaline salt of great strength and without refuse can be used—and by this means a fraudulent maker may finish the boiling of soap in a few hours with-

out leaving any trace almost of what has been doing. The next facility arises out of the remission of the candle duty. Before that remission the candle-melter was, as your Lordship knows, subjected to the same strictness of excise surveillance as the soap-maker. This, however, is no longer the case—where no duty is obtained, the excise, though nominally surveyors, are not so in any efficient reality. The candle-maker deals in tallow, the great component part of soap, and is generally a retailer of soap with his candles. There is nothing to prevent his having alkali on his premises with perfect legality and even without suspicion; his utensils may be applied to soap boiling as easily as to melting tallow; and I need not tell your Lordship that the trade of smuggling soap is to a lax conscience far preferable to that of making candles at any profit now to be obtained by such trade. The inference is obvious.

The great injury to the honourable soap-maker, however, arises out of the miserably inefficient regulations of the excise itself, which seem framed to apply to those who stand least in need of them, and to give every chance to the probable evader of the law.

According to the present usage, those houses, the scale of whose business presupposes a payment of considerable duties, are very properly strictly and perpetually watched. An assistant is constantly stationed on the premises, the gauger is seldom absent, and the district supervisor suffers no day to pass without seeing that all is going on as it should. With the smaller manufactories, however, this is not the case. There is no stationed assistant on the premises, which are visited only at intervals of several hours, and the routine of the business carried on therein is consequently only imperfectly known to the surveyor. Now, my Lord, taking into consideration the temptation described, the ease by which in a few hours a making may be finished, taken out, and fresh materials, having exactly the same appearance, substituted—I ask you, my Lord, is it either foolish or uncharitable to suppose that such must

sometimes be the case? Certainly not, neither is it to suppose that men of good property are less likely to enter into a trade with dishonest motives than those destitute of it. Quitting this part of the subject, however, I shall now describe some of the other facilities for smuggling, which spring from the present erroneous system, and I crave your Lordship's attention to the regulations as to drawbacks, which are unquestionably the means of introducing frauds innumerable. Your Lordship is aware that in Ireland no soap duty is paid at all, and that of late years the full drawback of 28*l.* per ton has been allowed upon all hard soap exported from England to Ireland, as if Ireland were a foreign country.

The first effect of this has been to add to the miseries of unhappy Ireland, by destroying the soap trade there altogether. And how this happens, a little explanation will make very evident. I have already stated that, the nett duty really paid upon soap is about 26*s.* per cwt. The drawback, however received, is 28*s.*, so that here is a clear bounty of two pounds per ton in favour of the English manufacturer and against the Irish. Your Lordship will perhaps ask how it happens that this bounty does not exterminate the soap trade in *all* foreign countries as it does in Ireland, and the question is a natural one: but your Lordship must remember that in exporting soap to *really* foreign countries, the indirect taxes on soap, that is to say, the tallow duty of 3*l.* 2*s.* per ton, and the barilla duty of 2*l.* per ton, the palm oil duty 2*l.* 10*s.* and the cocoa nut oil duty 2*l.* per ton, that on rosin as a component of rough turpentine, which are not drawn back, neutralize the effect of this bounty when English soap is brought in competition with foreign soap, which is made of untaxed tallow or untaxed *olive oil*, (of which last article the English soap made is most foolishly deprived by a prohibiting duty for the advantage of Russia), and untaxed barilla, &c.; while in Ireland, where these taxes are paid, the bounty acts to the destruction of the Irish soap-maker. But this is only a small part of the evil. Does your Lordship

suppose that the soap exported to Ireland never comes back again, and that the steam-boats which bring over Irish paupers do not also bring over other forbidden articles, equally injurious to the revenue? They do, my Lord; and many a herring barrel and many a linen bale (in appearance), are well loaded with hard soap for the English market, upon which the drawback has been obtained.

But this is only one kind of drawback, there is a second sort to be considered. Upon all hard soap used in the milling of woollen cloths, &c. three-fourths of the duty are remitted, and the drawback is obtained by the exhibition of invoices which were formerly verified on oath by the manager or one of the managers of the manufactory, and now are by the manufacturer himself. Now, my Lord, it is evident that by exhibiting false invoices drawbacks to a considerable extent may be obtained upon soap which never even existed; and if there be such a thing as a roguish soap-maker or cloth-manufacturer, is it possible, does your lordship think, to suppose that they have not found this out?

So much for drawbacks, I trust I have pretty clearly shown the evils resulting from them, and I am now to trouble your Lordship with the system of *certificates*. At present, with every parcel of soap sent out by the manufacturer there goes a certificate, specifying the weight, &c., and soap sent from a manufactory *without this* is liable to seizure. This is very well in appearance, but on the other side it also happens that soap which *has* a certificate, nobody thinks of seizing, and as there is nothing to prevent the certificates from being got back again, and as it is an easy thing to alter a date, so it turns out that one certificate may *cover* more than one parcel of soap, and this without chance of detection, as the excise keep no stock account, and have no check of any sort upon the manufacturer; in this matter, thus the certificate is a cover, and not a preventive of fraud, and as at present managed, is evil unmixed, and not productive of any benefit to anybody but the dishonest.

Such, my Lord, is the situation of the



situation which seems to unite everything likely to prevent either the seller or buyer of soap from having *clean hands*; by which the public is taxed as much for the benefit of the smuggler as of the revenue, and in which between the two, the fair-dealing manufacturer is depressed exactly in the ratio of his honesty and good conscience.

I have now arrived, my Lord, at the difficult part of my subject. It is always easy to describe evils, but often hard to find the cure. Can I find a cure for these? To say that I can, would be arrogance extreme, to say that I am willing to try, may be allowed to pass, at all events, for nothing worse than well-meaning officiousness.

If your Lordship could for a moment be supposed to condescend to ask me what course I should take to cure those evils, I should at once reply—*first*, diminish the temptation to smuggle; *next*, increase the preventives of smuggling.

If the duty on hard soap, from three-pence per lb., were at once struck down to a penny per lb., two-thirds of the temptation would at all events be extinguished at a blow, and the public would be benefited to the extent of about 2d. per lb. upon every pound of hard soap used—that is to say, brown soap would be nearly one-third cheaper than it is now, a great boon to the poor man.

If the allowance made to woollen manufacturers, &c. upon the soap they use in milling were put an end to, the Government would be a gainer to the extent of one-fourth of the amount of that impost; as these manufacturers would then pay a penny where before they paid only three-farthings per lb.

In addition to this I should at once decide upon stationing an assistant exciseman at every soap house, great and small, and in order to lessen the expense to Government I should charge every soap-maker 25*l.* for his annual license, and those who made more than 500 tons, at the rate of 1*s.* per ton for all above the 500 tons, and I should also empower the Board of Excise in cases of conviction for smuggling, to call upon the trader so convicted, if he

continued to carry on his trade, to find two sureties in 500*l.* each that he would not again commit the offence.

I have reason to believe, my Lord, this plan was partially acted upon when the remission of the beer duty occasioned a temporary over-supply of excisemen.

The result was, that the duty upon soap was in that year increased 50,000*l.*, and that about a twelfth of that increase was paid by the house to which I, your Lordship's humble correspondent, am attached; and that I am ready to prove that the greater part of the increase which we paid was in consequence of orders from the towns and districts of Hull, Selby, and York, in which towns and districts several smuggling houses were broken up, or temporarily suppressed, in consequence of the experiment which I had recommended.

Taking the effect of all these measures, it is clear that smuggling would receive a check, that would go far to extinguish it; and that this joined to the increase of consumption, would make up, to a great extent, the loss in revenue arising from striking off two-thirds of the tax. It has been asserted to me, by one who had opportunities for knowing, that the soap smuggled, compared to the quantity that paid duty, was at as one to two. If anything like this be the truth, it must be clear to your Lordship, that the gain upon this would at once bring the revenue up to the pitch of three-half-pence per lb. upon the quantity that is now paying duty.

What the increase arising out of increased consumption would be, it is impossible for me even to guess, but I am sure that it would be great. At present to buy soap sufficient for a working man and his family, would make a hole in his income, for which cleanliness itself would be no excuse. Families, on the average, are of five persons, the father, mother, and three children. Wages throughout England cannot, I fear, be called more than ten shillings per week to the labourer. To buy, therefore, one pound and a half of the commonest soap at sixpence or sixpence farthing per lb. the present price, runs

away with a twelfth or thirteenth of his whole weekly income, and yet this quantity for an artisan, his wife, and his three children, is far from sufficient.

If he bought 2lbs. under the reduced duty, the gain to the revenue would be considerable. Whether this duty of one penny per pound on hard soap could be levied in poor, miserable, maltreated Ireland, it is not for me, but for your Lordship to say, but if it could, I firmly believe the Exchequer would lose little by the proposed change.

In conclusion, I would beg leave earnestly to press upon your Lordship the policy of extinguishing the duty upon the various vegetable oils which may be used in the manufacture of hard soap, especially olive oil. It is known to your Lordship that the soaps of France and Spain, indeed most of the continental soaps, are produced by the union of olive oil with alkali, and that the olive may be grown to an interminable extent, not only in the warmer climates of Europe, but in America, Asia, and Australia. Why then, I ask, should this country be solely dependent on Russia for the principal constituent of her soaps, tallow? or, why should tallow be allowed to supplant, in England, the vegetable? why should this be? especially when all consider that the supply of tallow from Russia must soon find its limit, and be inadequate to meet the increasing demand for this country, in which (I state the fact to your Lordship with poignant feelings of grief, but it is a fact which I have means superior to those of most men in this country of knowing), the supply of home-produced tallow, in proportion to the population, is every day decreasing, because, my Lord (I must speak out), the labouring classes are unable to live as they ought to do upon butchers' meat.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,  
your Lordship's obedient servant,

THOMAS DOUBLEDAY.

# “ ANNUAL PARLIAMENTS, UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE, AND “ VOTE BY BALLOT.”

(From *Cobbett's Magazine*.)

The saying which VIRGIL puts into the mouth of *Choræbus* is translated by DRYDEN aptly enough to have been studied as a motto for the Whigs:

“ Let *fraud* supply the want of *force* in war.”

But the Trojan leader, along with his host, was the victim of his own stratagem; and the Whigs are likely to share a like fate unless they change their mode of warfare. This line naturally comes to memory on reading some articles which have appeared of late in the *Edinburgh Review*; which articles exhibit the most arduous rumagings of man's brain to find reasons, that we ever saw in our lives. The *object* is, to show that further reform in the House of Commons is not necessary; and it is but just that as many as possibly can should do these articles the honour of reading them; because, if the writer have not made out the case upon which he pleads, he has at least given one of the finest specimens of what it is to exhaust all a man's powers of arguing on one side of a question; he is the most laborious and perspiring drudge of faction that ever took the implement of Grub-street in hand. The *Ballot*, in particular, seems to have given him the horrors; and no reason that he can here find *con.* is so contemptible but it becomes a weighty fish in the Reviewer's net. The readers of these articles should, at the same time, turn back to another which appeared in the same *Review* in the year 1807, where they will see the question of reform handled in an equally masterly way (the labourer's task *then* being to show that no reform at all was necessary), and wherein that question was set at rest after the manner of Mr. Canning's setting-at-rest for paper-money: that is to say, so that it might only become a subject of livelier agitation at a future day. Perhaps some will say, that it is unfair to compare things which occurred so long ago with those occurring so lately, that the *Edinburgh Review's* article of 1807 ought now to be



mere matter of amusement for political antiquaries, and that it should already be classed among things which connoisseurs consider as of the "*true antique*," and, consequently not to be looked upon as at all applicable to our own time. We should think, however, that this cannot be admitted in fairness; because, while the *Reviewer* of Edinburgh is one of great penetration and foresight, it is for the *same faction*, and to gain or keep the *same profits* in place, that he has all along been at work. Besides, the difficulty of distinguishing between what is too old to apply and what is not, has been more strikingly proved by what this *Reviewer* said only a few weeks ago compared with an event that has taken place even since that: we mean, the bitter taunt of the Whig *Reviewer* at the Tories, charging them with having incited the Radicals to further reform, in order to produce a revolution, coupled along with the fact that the Tories and Whigs have, since the date of that taunt, made up again, like true brothers, and are at this moment making a joint stand against the Radicals! Thus much let us say, at the outset of our notice of further reform, just by way of a compliment to the *consistency* of its Whig opponents.

The above is, to some, a frightful title to write under. But we prefer taking this to anything of the more moderate sort, if it be only out of further compliment to the Whigs: for this, "*Annual Parliaments, Universal Suffrage, and Vote by Ballot*," is only the extreme wish of a power, the influential fear of which brought the Whigs into place, and placed a reforming Chancellor on the woolsack. We were at first going to address ourselves, under this head, "*To all honest Whigs*;" but the words were no sooner down, than we started at the sight of them, and ran our pen through them; not choosing to seem as if promising a string of ironical jokes upon a serious subject, which our readers might naturally think we were doing if they saw us connecting the idea of *honesty* along with the name of *Whig*. We shall prefer, there-

fore, to submit our observations to the judgment of all *moderate reformers*, as a pretty numerous class of the nation are called.

In doing this we shall confine ourselves as nearly as we can to the statement of our own views, independently of what has been said by those with whom we disagree. The invitation, however, which the sophistry of the Edinburgh *Reviewer* gives to expose him, is almost irresistible. But we have no room to notice him more than generally: to see through him completely, one must read all he says; so we recommend our readers to look at the two last of his numbers, and especially at that for January, in which, among many other things equally shameless, he says, in speaking of the *Ballot*, "*The Ultra Tories have brought many ills upon their country; they, and their natural allies, seditious mobs, in both parts of the empire, may possibly add this to the catalogue.*" The term "*Ultra Tory*," taken with those others which the confusion in public opinion has given birth to, "*Ultra Whig*," "*Moderate Whig*," "*Ultra Radical*," "*Moderate Radical*," &c., shows that the two pure factions that have been co-operating so long, are nearly at an end; and that, if men would make any distinction between politicians as respects their *principles*, it must now be between honest men and rogues, whatever name they give themselves; and this *Reviewer* seems to claim a distinguished rank among the latter of the two. The Whigs, to charge the Tories with sedition; the Whigs, who bullied the Tories out of place so short a time since, and thrust themselves in, by calling this same "*seditious mob*" to their aid! The Tories had the odium of holding all nominal power when the popular irruption took place; and now the insolent Whig talks as if *he* (the rogue!) had no hand in bringing about that condition of the people which gave rise to the necessity of compliance with the people's demands. But did not the Whigs help to do all the worst acts of oppression and cruelty: did they not, par-

ticularly, among other things, praise the employing of spies to carry on bad government, and vote for bills of indemnity to avert the legal consequences to a ministry who had broken down the people's best safeguards in the law?

Contrasting the harm done by the Tories (they being ever assisted in it by the Whigs), along with the *good* done by the Whigs, we cannot, of course, forget that greatest of all their good deeds, the *Septennial Bill*; a law whereby every member of the House of Commons has a right to sit for nearly *one quarter of an age*, without his constituents having any means of calling him to account. This sitting for seven years is a thing not to be argued upon at all. There may be some dishonest politicians, who are interested in its continuance, some Whigs who would have brass enough to look you in the face and defend it. All conscientious and sensible men are agreed, that if the constituency be such as are fit to judge of a man's merits as a member of Parliament, and if the mode by which elections are conducted be good, that, then, the duration of Parliaments and recurrence of elections ought to be a mere matter of convenience, like the holdings of markets and fairs. And this is what the Parliament, as at present reformed, will very soon admit and act upon, or its present reformed state is likely to be of little benefit to the nation,

The great, and the only question in fact, at issue on reform is, how far the people ought to be suffered to interfere in the management of their own affairs; and this, we know, is a very ticklish question with the "moderate" reformers. Too much liberty among a nation does, it is said, lead to anarchy; this sort of excess, therefore, we admit, is exceedingly dangerous, since anarchy in a civilized state is infinitely worse than the quiet of barbarism. But what, again, is to be said of a government, possessed of all but absolute control, which so manages the people's concerns as every now-and-then to cause the "lower orders" to force themselves, by violence, into power, and to start up,

and, looking the Government in the face, say, "*We are wiser than you!*" If the "lower orders" have done this, it is the fault of the "higher" alone; because the "higher" have ruled the whole roast. There are many of the "moderate" reformers whom we respect, on account of the reasonableness of their views. But they have an unreasonable as well as a reasonable side. Take a man, for instance, unconnected with any government squandering, who has five hundred acres of land belonging to him, and who knows that, in case of a revolution, he might possibly lose the whole of his property; this man has a good reason for desiring to prevent anything tending to such a loss: he is *interested*, to be sure, but he is not the less just as long as his interest does not clash with that of the nation in general. His just motives for his own security, however, naturally induce him to hold opinions which are unjust towards the community in general. Blinded by his interest, he does not see that, for the sake of temporary quiet, he would only keep up a system which makes the danger of revolution everlasting. He has no *politics*, in fact, but what the immediate necessities of his own fortune dictate. His thoughts for a nation's sake are applicable to some happy state of things which does not exist. Let such a man look back through the events of not many months past, and he will see that all the reform hitherto produced has come, not out of that moderation of which he is the advocate, but from that spirit of revolution which must ever be a concomitant of immoderate use of power in a government. Cannot such a man see how much more secure he would be, if the government he has to depend on did not, as ours is incessantly doing, rouse a turbulent spirit with the people? How can he wonder at the people's impatience, knowing, as we all do, that there are hundreds of men, and not of the "lower orders" alone, who, while they feel obliged to profess attachment to "established institutions" in public, talk pure republicanism in their private lettings-out: how can



he wonder that the mere "ignorant" should be unable to see enough difference between a *king* and a *president*, to reconcile them to an unnecessary squandering of tens of millions every year?

The complaint of the laborious is, that they have not their proper share in making the laws. To which we have heard some of the "political economists" answer, and especially in speaking on the question of *pledges*: 1st. That the greater part of the people's misery has been occasioned by their own misconduct; and, 2dly. That listening to the popular voice has a *revolutionary* tendency. One or the other of these positions must be withdrawn: they cannot both be maintained but by two courses of argument the very opposite to each other: the two together lead to a dilemma. We cannot, in one and the same breath, reproach the people with having abused their own discretion, and at the same time justify a government in not having permitted that discretion to be exercised, any more than we can charge a man with a want of good faith in whom we have never placed confidence.

The people must either take some part in minding what belongs to them in the state, and thereby be responsible for themselves, or they must leave it entirely to others; in which latter case those others must be liable to be called upon for an *account*. There can be no practical good towards the nation in abusing the laborious as *ignorant, mob, rabble, populace, or lower orders*. For the country to be well off, any such mob &c., ought not to be; and if there is a class of the community to which such opprobrious terms can be justly applied, its existence can be the consequence of nothing but bad government. No; the people are not "ignorant" in these matters, excepting in one thing, as to which all civilized nations are more or less destined to be so, that is, in the true designs of those who hold, or aim at holding, the profitable office of administering what comes into the treasury. Of the true intentions of such men the people at large under a bad government can hardly ever

be thoroughly informed; because, while the whole of the time of the governors is taken up in contrivances to deceive those for whose good they affect to be thinking, the great majority of every nation, whether well or ill governed, are, for the greater part of their time, occupied in ploughing furrows of land, sowing and reaping crops, spinning and weaving, forging metals, sawing boards, handling bricks and mortar, navigating vessels, or labouring in or superintending some other of the various works of industrious life. Here it is that ignorance *does* exist, that is, as to the acts of a government which makes itself too responsible to the people by taking all the authority into its own hands. And hence it is that, under a despotic government, a nation's wrongs are generally first announced to it through its wants, that when the "Commons" find out those grievances, they are impatient for redress, and that then is apt to take place that which moderate reformers are afraid of, namely, reform by the means of a revolution. Where have the most bloody revolutions taken place, but among those bands of slaves that have been the most cruelly oppressed? The people do not perceive while an act of the legislature (such, for instance, as the Septennial Bill) is *being done*, what effect upon themselves is likely to become the *consequence* of it: they are first aroused by the effect itself operating upon them. It is in this view of government that we see the superiority in practice of the American representation over our own absolute rule. With the Americans we see that the government is not trusted to do too much of itself at a time without the people having an opportunity to take their own review of what has been done, and to approve or disapprove of it. That people are not left in ignorance or in a state of helplessness as to a bad measure, till all the harm of it falls upon their own shoulders.

But is it not necessary, we are asked, that the people should place confidence in their government? Most assuredly it is. The Americans have always a sufficiency of that feeling, and so must

every nation have that is really free. But there is another sort of confidence we often hear called for, and particularly when any extraordinary act of treachery is about to be committed; that is, what old-fashioned twaddle calls "confidence in his Majesty's ministers;" and this is a very different species of confidence. To rely entirely on any *ministers* would be the same thing as trusting all to an absolute power. Very different to rely upon men chosen by yourselves to represent you, and to rely on a servant you do not know and who is chosen by another. The fact which we have before stated cannot be too often repeated, that abuses, even under the best governments, arise *insensibly*; that the people is hardly ever so alive to them as its interest would require. Looking at the general history of all nations, with their revolutionary changes, the last thing in the people that rulers can find fault with is, the want of a respect for the rulers on the part of the people. Necessity has ordered that there shall be at least enough of that respect. The business, or the indolence, the personal interests of individuals in all states, make them less attentive to the public good than they might be with profit. Now, it is for this reason that we want a reform in England, by which we may be really represented: that the people may be compelled, as the Americans are by the spirit and practice of their constitution, to look into the causes that are to affect their happiness; to raise obstacles to the inroads of tyranny; to make suitable stands against *aristocratical encroachment* (if we may give Mr. Canning's phrase such a twist); to arrest the state robber *in limine*, before he gets his hands amidst the public treasure; to check a wrong-doing government in its career of breaking good laws and making bad ones. It is the fault of necessity, that a people is ever too slow to rebel against unjust government; a fact which several writers have observed, but which governments have taken care not to repeat. If there were more readiness to rebel, there would be fewer cases of rebellion; the causes for

it being prevented by the readiness of nations to assert their rights, which they would be sure to understand if they found inquiry of use to them. The greater part of us belong to some branch of science, skill, or handicraft, and are necessarily mere plodders in our particular callings. We are not generally interested demagogues, and, whether honest or dishonest in private life, trouble our heads with nothing beyond farming, carpentering, bricklaying, shoemaking, tailoring, tinkering, and so forth. But needs must, as the saying is, when the devil drives; and though the force of our own interest and habits disposes us to think most about what immediately belongs to us, so necessity now and then takes another turn, and sinks the mere personal in the popular; bringing the smith from his anvil, and the clodhopper from his plough-tail, and urges even the least knowing of us to that which caused humane Castlereagh to invent a new malediction for the tongues of tyrants to apply to the oppressed—"basest populace"—because they wanted to rebel.

So, the "lower orders" are accused of entertaining a want of reverence for their superiors? Oh, unhappy times, when this was first discovered in England; such times as those which put ROBESPIERRE and CASTLEREAGH into power. The charge is even more false than we could desire it to be, if there were ever one of the "lower orders" that did respect CASTLEREAGH, and if such men as CASTLEREAGH are to be looked on as superior even to the lowest of the "lower orders."

Of all that should be guarded against by a government as respects the feelings of a nation, what is there so much to be apprehended as the existence of *discontent* in company with *labour*? The lazy and luxurious, indeed, may be discontented without being able to say why. But labour is easily satisfied; it is contented with *enough*. Luxury, on the contrary, is never satisfied; having always had more than it wanted, it never knows what enough is. Happy pauperism is a thing not to be hoped for; but labour happy in plenty [is what



every good government should endeavour to see. What says Lord BACON on sedition?

"Concerning the materials of sedition, it is a thing well to be considered; for the surest way to prevent seditions (if the times do bear it), is to *take away the matter of them*; for if there be fuel prepared, it is hard to tell whence the spark shall come that shall set it on fire. The matter of seditions is of two kinds, much *poverty* and much *discontent*. It is certain, so many everthrown estates, so many votes for troubles. LUCAN noteth well the state of Rome before the civil war:

"*Hinc usura vorax, rapidumque in tempore fœnus*

"*Hinc concussa fides, et multis utile bellum.*"

"This same '*multis utile bellum*' is an assured and infallible sign of a state disposed to seditions and troubles; and if this poverty and broken estate in the better sort be joined with a want and necessity in the mean people, the danger is imminent and great; for the rebellions of the belly are the worst. As for discontentments, they are in the politic body like humours in the natural, which are apt to gather a preternatural heat and to inflame; and let no prince measure the danger of them by this, whether they be just or unjust; for that were to imagine the people to be *too reasonable*, who do often *spurn at their own good*; nor yet by this, whether the griefs whereupon they rise be in fact great or small; for they are the most dangerous discontentments where the fear is greater than the feeling; besides, in great oppressions, the same things that provoke the patience do withal mate the courage; but in fears it is not so: neither let any prince or state be secure concerning discontentments because they have been often, or have been long, and yet no peril hath ensued; for as it is true that every vapour or fume doth not turn

Hence greedy usury and lawless gain,  
Hence broken faith, and honour pledged in vain,  
And war, to some the source of interest.

"into storm, so it is nevertheless true. That storms, though they blow over divers times, yet may fall at last; and as the Spanish proverb noteth well, 'The cord breaketh at last by the weakest pull.'"

We will not imagine its being asked to what these words best apply; but let us not forget that it was this same philosopher's "immortal page" that Mr. (now Lord) Brougham wished to see ploughmen reading for their mental improvement when sitting down after a hard day's work in the fields.

The most insidious pretext that we have ever heard of for authorising arbitrary acts in a Government, is that which has lately been given by the Whigs (by the Lord Chancellor himself, if we are not mistaken); and it is this; that in *free states* it is necessary now and then to place *extraordinary powers* in the hands of the Government. Who was it that originally furnished this false and detestable piece of doctrine? We forget whether it is borrowed from MACCHIAVELLI. That writer, however, does certainly say, that military force is a thing absolutely necessary to a ruler who desires to do great things in despite of his people. In order to justify the taking away of our liberty in 1817, by suspending the *Habeas Corpus* Act, Lord ELDON gave a reason which, compared with this of the Whigs, was temperance itself. He said (quoting an established maxim of law), *Salus populi suprema lex*—The people's good is what the law first looks to; and though this maxim were applied to a wrong purpose, to do the people harm, there was nothing tyrannical or false in the maxim itself. But ah, the liberty-loving Whigs! . . . .

. . . . . It would be strange, verily, if the Whigs had not some stronger *points d'appui*, some fulcrum more originally false by which to turn all right topsyturvy, some source from which to collect reasons, though the most barefaced and detestable, for keeping their places, and keeping up the squanderings of public money *too*. Lord ELDON and his colleagues wanted to abrogate the best of our laws: they did it; but in so doing, *their great reason was confined in its*

sophistry to the misapplication of a sound maxim. It was for that spirit which works in the hearts of our harbingers of liberty and reform to discover, that, in order to preserve the freedom of states, it is necessary to abandon them now and then to the ravages of despots. We have, we think, refuted this vile doctrine already, in our previous remarks, on which no sensible man can reflect without perceiving (all history must lead him to do so) that it is not out of wild, harum-scarum anxiousness in a people to keep itself free, that come revolutions in states; but in that which, having all in its own hands, goes on artfully working its way unperceived by the people or in defiance of them; in the innovations of state corruption, which, like other robbers, slyly or by force, approaches you while asleep, or knocks you down before it begins the work of pillage. HUME the historian tells us of a bishop who said that the people had a *right* to resist, but that it was not fit to *let them know it!* Such absurd rules of constitutional law must always be had recourse to by those who govern without a nation's consent.

RAYNAL, in his *Histoire Philosophique*, vol. x., p. 185, says something on the use of military force that is worth attending to at this time. "The increasing of an army," he says, "promotes despotism. A great number of troops, forts, magazines, and arsenals, may prevent invasions; but, in preserving the people from the irruptions of a conqueror, they do not save it from the outrages of a despot. So many soldiers only rivet closer the chains of those who are already slaves. The weakest of men becomes, then, the most powerful; and as he can do everything, he does whatever he pleases. With his military strength alone he braves the opinions, and coerces the inclinations, of others. By the means of soldiers he levies taxes; and by the means of taxes he levies soldiers. He is everlastingly improving his military power, without ever gaining any strength to the nation. It is in vain that he puts arms into hands that

"are to be always lifted over the heads of the people: if his subjects tremble before his troops, his troops will run away from their enemies. But then the loss of a battle is the loss of a kingdom. All those whose hearts he has alienated will then naturally prefer a stranger's yoke; because something remains to be hoped for with a conqueror, while, with the despot, all hope has been sunk in despair. When once the progress of a military government has brought about a state of despotism, the *nation* may be said to be at an end," &c.

That it is necessary to give the people more power of consultation in their own affairs than they have had, we need not urge to the most "moderate" reformer. The question now is, however, whether there ought to be any further liberty allowed in suffrage. Several arguments have been found to oppose any further liberty in this respect. One is, that those have the best right to influence the councils of the nation who have the "*greatest stake*" in the country. And the argument, if we understand what it means, is one that the labourer of the smallest income may agree to, and still maintain his right to vote. Does it mean, *those who are most dependent on their own country for their happiness?* If it does, then we think that the man whose whole means arise out of his labour has the *greatest stake* in the country. The corrupt and unfeeling part of the press has for many years been accusing the poor of their having nothing to lose, and of a hope of gaining by their country's convulsions. How comes it that none of these insults are hurled on the labourers of America? There is squabbling enough in the American press about the disposal of what little taxes are collected. All sorts of hard words are exchanged between the different candidates for offices of emolument in that country. Strange however, that there should not, at the same time, be any "rabble" and "basest populace," or any such ugly names used in that country; no mixture in one common reproach of the meritorious with the profligate, the frugal with the extravagant;



no mighty confusion of complaining poverty along with abandoned crime. An American citizen would not dare to say, that, because he is *richer* than his neighbour in the vulgar sense of the word, he has a greater stake in the country. One man is as good as another, at all events; and if one have less money, goods, or land, belonging to him than another, the property of the least rich is at least as valuable to him as that of the most rich. Let some man who is thriving upon the taxes imagine himself suddenly brought to be obliged to work for his bread: imagine himself a labourer in the fields: let the placeman, pensioner, or sinecurist, imagine himself, with a pickaxe and a shovel for his companions, set to work to clearing a ditch in the month of February; getting up for the task at six o'clock in the morning, and not leaving it till half-past five at night, the only interval of rest being that when he should sit down on a bank of cold clay, sheltered from a north-east wind by a quick-set hedge without any leaves upon it, to dine on potatoes as cold as the clay that forms his seat; let him imagine his good dame left at home in the hovel, there, with "political economy" for a comforter, to impart contentment without food to a half-a-dozen ravenous young birds of prey lately weaned from all the sweetmeats of a tax-loaded table: let him, further, imagine himself making an appeal for "relief," which is answered (as it has been in Hampshire) by a "*Go and starve*," or by a setting to work for 6d. a day to crack stones on the high-road, or (perhaps the best and the worst in one) by being packed off with all his poor kit across the sea, to some outlandish swamp or wilderness, whithersoever the humanity of those having a "larger stake in the country" may please to send him. This, which exists in reality with the laborious, is what those who are not compelled to work should think of, when they set about considering the advantages of, or would define what is, a "stake in the country." And what is that has brought the possessions of the rich into danger, but the depriving of so many of the working producers of

all riches of their invaluable though little stakes?

The other chief argument against a more extended suffrage is, that the constituency ought to consist of the most *intelligent* of the people. And this is a good argument in principle, leaving open the question of how far it has been adopted in practice. This is an argument that none of the "lower orders" will quarrel with, because they know that the greatest abuses have arisen in Parliaments that were hardly more than the nominees of the "higher." The inference from which must naturally be, that those are not the most intelligent who carry their heads the highest. And practice has already proved, by the present Parliament, that in the scale of intelligence, the increase is rather from the top to the bottom than contrariwise. The really great, the genuine *stake*, is possessed by those who feel most interest in an honest and moderately-taxing government. It is in the feeling of this interest that consists the sort of *intelligence* that is wanted; and if the purely "higher orders" had only had enough of this among themselves, there never would have been any cry for reform at all.

As to the *ballot*, one cannot help having a wish to try this, if it be only because all classes of the corrupt are so vehemently *opposed* to it. Thus it is with the *Edinburgh Reviewer*, and others, on the question of the *ballot*. We confess that we were ourselves never great admirers of this mode of voting. We had the same prejudices against it as those the expression of which threw poor Sir ROBERT WILSON out from the borough of Southwark. Our objection to it was, that it is not becoming in men pretending to independence of spirit to be afraid of declaring their opinions openly, and so forth. It was something to this effect, only with a little more empty boasting for the character of John Bull, that was said by poor Sir ROBERT. He said it was beneath Englishmen, un-English, &c.: Sir ROBERT WILSON, that general in an army of *Englishmen*, discipline to which is preserved by the visitation of a cat-o-nine tails.

The people may say, in answer to the objectors to the ballot: If we are not to vote in our own way, why give us any right of voting at all? you might as well have continued to keep it all to yourselves. Yes; this is the fair answer to all who contend for the necessity of the voter's being influenced by the opinion of his *superiors*. But we are flattered by appeals made to our sense of *honour*. This is a very agreeable compliment, indeed; it is a suspicious one, however, like most other very high compliments. A true test of the spirit of independence in opinion is freedom in the expression of our thoughts. We cannot pretend to have this without being prepared to prove it by our *practice*. A completely free people must prefer to assert their opinions openly; they would take pride in doing, and be ashamed of seeming not able to do so. But how would it be if the people had now the power to vote by ballot? If they had that power, and did so vote, it must show that we can not afford to be so nicely high-minded as it is endeavoured to flatter us we are. If the nation really felt themselves independent, and preferred voting openly, as of course they would like to be able to do, how comes it that they ask for the ballot to be given them? No one has an ambition to be debased; no one takes pains to render himself low; no one entreats to become an object of disrespect even in the slightest degree. What, then, but the want of power to vote otherwise, as they would wish, can induce the majority of the nation to ask for that which, if they exercised it, must prove them not independent? There does seem to be something quite farcical in this appeal to the honour of tradesmen, artisans, and the like classes, while we know that amongst select societies of the "higher orders" the ballot is almost always used in elections; and while we know, too, that a part of the money raised by Parliaments of late has been spent in what is called "*secret services*," applied to purposes so honourable in their nature, that the expenders have been

ashamed to let the people see precisely for what it went.

We think that the events of the last elections gave many proofs that there would be nothing imprudent in trying the ballot. There is no doubt that many scenes of riot, and confusion, and mischief, would have been prevented by it, and not a few men sent to Parliament who would have done better than those who come in their stead. We did not, however, agree with the *Chronicle* in one ground in favour of the ballot taken by that paper. The *Chronicle* said that this mode of voting should be put in force to prevent the *exclusive dealings* of the people, which, according to that paper, were *degrading* to them. The remark was rather degrading to the writer's own sense, considering those other exclusive dealings, and those acts of shameless and all but brute-force intimidation and compulsion, which the writer of the *Chronicle* must have noticed throughout the whole of his previous experience.

There was an amusing squib in the *Standard* on this part of the subject of reform some time ago (9. January), in which the editor said, that though little satisfactory information was to be obtained from *America* respecting the workings of the ballot in that country, he would, however, "go a little higher up;" and with his "*little higher up*," he led his laughing readers back to ancient Rome, and Cicero's dialogues on laws! Being practical men in politics, we admired the *Standard's* squib, because it is so much like what it would be for a modern ship-builder to look back to Noah's ark as a pattern to build by. To be serious, we must tell the *Standard* that his going to CICERO for authority was unbecoming in a Tory: he must know that CICERO had a good deal of the Whig. Not, to be sure, like the Whigs of now-a-days. Heaven forbid that any one should hint such abuse on the memory of one who said so much in praise of all that is good. Whigs, since the days of CICERO, appear to have undergone as much towards the accomplishment of their character in our soil,



as potatoes have by being translated from that of Mexico to Ireland.

The *Standard* professes inability to do justice to CICERO by an English dress, and that is the only reason, we suppose, why he was able to pick out no more of the orator's meaning than just so much as suited his own purpose. But the *Standard* has so much need of assistance in one part of his attempts to vulgarize, that we cannot help offering our assistance, though it be only to finish out a sentence which the editor sticks fast in the middle of.

"*Quis autem non sensit, auctoritatem omnem optimatum tabellariam legem abstulisse?*" says CICERO: that is.

Who does not perceive that all the authority of the higher orders has been taken away by the law which introduced the ballot? And very shocking, we agree, this must have been for the Roman higher orders. But here our Tory comes to what the learned call a *nonplus*. Not so the Roman Whig; for CICERO, without even fetching fresh breath, goes on, and lets the murder out in a trice:

—" *Quam populus liber nunquam desideravit, idem oppressus dominatu ac potentiâ principum flagitavit:*"\* that is, a law which the people never desired so long as they were free, and never thought of calling out for till they had smarted under the dominion of the higher orders! Such are [our editor's last advices from ancient Rome *against* the ballot. Why did not the Tory, being about it, go still a little higher up, and let us know what was done by SOLON in Athens? CICERO would have made a good attorney-general; but SOLON would certainly have been a much better member of Parliament. The wise lawgiver refused a crown, which is more, perhaps, than the barrister would have done; and when SOLON undertook to put the Athenian radicals to rights, the government he established for that purpose consisted of men who were elected by ballot; besides which, the Greek lower orders enjoyed one privilege more serious than anything yet demanded by the English,

namely, that of putting to death those persons who interfered with their elections.

## COVENTRY ELECTION.

(From the *True Sun* of 11. April.)

We copy from the *Standard* of last night the following observations upon the respective claims of the two candidates for Coventry, Mr. JOHN COBBETT and Mr. ELLICE:

"The Secretary-at-War, we are informed, is likely to be opposed at Coventry by a brother Revolutionist, though not a Ministerialist, Mr. John Cobbett, son to the Member for Oldham. If we may judge from Mr. Cobbett's *Magazine*, he is a very able man; and of principles, particularly as regards religion and the church, far less removed from those which Conservatives cherish, than are the principles of the Grey faction. We say this in order not to deprive Mr. Cobbett of the advantages of his personal claims to a preference above the Secretary-at-War; this, however, is not the principal point—that is, the contest lying between one of the Grey faction, and a gentleman untainted by connexion or alliance with that faction; they have taught us our duty and our watchword. 'Any one rather than a Conservative,' say they; 'any one rather than a Grey,' say we; and we implore the Conservatives of Coventry to say the same. Let them still consider that the competition does not lie between a Conservative Whig and a Radical, but between a member of an organised faction of revolutionists for hire, and a man, who, if a revolutionist at all, which is by no means clear, *acts upon principle*."

What is here said by our Conservative contemporary of Mr. John Cobbett's ability, and of his adherence to principle, is but a bare tribute of justice. Such a tribute from such a source, cannot fail to have some weight with the Conservatives of Coventry. There must be thousands of the inha-

\* Lib. iii. sec. 15.

bitants of that city, and, among them, we should hope, a large majority of the voters, to whom no such recommendation can be necessary. We wish Mr. John Cobbett all success.

A correspondent has communicated to us the intelligence that the Whigs are commencing their election-work, very much in the fashion which they have been so virtuously and vehemently indignant with others for adopting. Our correspondent, whose signature is "Watchman," begs of Mr. Ellice to explain to the electors of Coventry the difference in the amount of crime between the members for Stafford (at whose conduct he was so much shocked), in spending a few hundreds in bribing the poor voters of that town; and the right hon. Gentleman, in incurring bribery committee bills for ale and gin, supposed to have been consumed by the freemen of Coventry. What the difference may be, it is asserted by our correspondent, that on Saturday night last some of the partisans of Mr. Ellice opened a number of public-houses, where ale was set flowing in abundance. In some, however, he says, he saw but few voters, and in others "a number of the most respectable freemen insisted upon paying for what they drank." We cannot persuade ourselves that Mr. Ellice will for a moment be induced to give his sanction to these proceedings of his partisans.

The undermentioned place is in Norfolk; and, I understand this document has been published by the *labourers themselves!*

At a Vestry-Meeting, holden in the parish church of Edgefield, on Monday, April 8, 1833,

**RESOLVED**,—That the rate of wages for able-bodied men be reduced to four shillings per week, that one shilling per week be given to each wife, and one shilling for each child per week. If there is not any children, allow the wife one shilling and sixpence per week.

Agreed for three months from this date, to commence on Monday, 15th.

Thomas Hardy  
G. B. Ballachey  
Jeremiah Coleman  
Charles Starling  
Robert Christmas  
Robert Temple  
William Woodyard  
James Woodyard  
Benjamin Walker  
William Starling  
William Barrett  
Francis Woods  
Thomas Dagless  
Jeremiah Jacobs  
Robert Browton.

### FIELD SEEDS.

TO BE HAD AT BOLT-COURT,  
FLEET-STREET.

**SWEDISH TURNIP SEED.**—Any quantity under 10lbs. 9d. a pound; and any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs. 8d. a pound; any quantity above 50lbs. 8d. a pound; above 100lbs. 7d. A parcel of seed may be sent to any part of the kingdom; I will find proper bags, will send it to any coach or van or wagon, and have it booked at my expense; but *the money must be paid at my shop before the seed be sent away*; in consideration of which I have made due allowance in the price. If the quantity be small, any friend can call and get it for a friend in the country; if the quantity be large, it may be sent by me.

**MANGEL WURZEL SEED.**—Any quantity under 10lbs., 8d. a pound; any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs., 7d. a pound; any quantity above 50lbs., 6d. a pound; any quantity above 100lbs., 6d. a pound. The selling at the same place as above; the payment in the same manner.

### TREE SEED.

**LOCUST SEED.**—6s. a pound.



From the **LONDON GAZETTE**,

FRIDAY, APRIL 5, 1833.

**INSOLVENT.****HENDERSON, A.**, Wallingford, Berkshire, linendraper.**BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.****SMITH, W.**, Billingsgate, fishmonger.**BANKRUPTS.****BALKWILL, F.**, Plymouth, corn-factor.**BLACKBURN, J.**, late of Soley-terrace, Lloyd-square, Pentonville, builder.**BOLLIN, C.**, Barossa-place, Chelsea, plumber.**BOWGIN, J. F., W. F., and T. F.**, Bristol, plumbers.**ELLIS, J.**, Princes-street, Hanover-square, tailor.**FERGUSON, R.**, Old Broad-street, commission-agent.**FISHWICK, R.**, Bury, Lancashire, woollen-manufacturer.**GARBUTT, W.**, Rirby, Moorside, Yorkshire, brick-manufacturer.**HILTON, G., and R.**, Chorley, Lancashire, cotton-spinners.**KEET, C.**, Ryde, Isle of Wight, grocer.**RATTENBURY, W.**, East-lane, Bermondsey, shipwright.**STEAD, J.**, Leeds, saddler.**TYRRELL, T.**, Little Trinity-lane, victualler.**SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.****MACDIARMID, J.**, Glasgow, agent.

TUESDAY, APRIL 9, 1833.

**INSOLVENT.****RICE, T.**, Sussex-terrace, Old Brompton, mason.**BANKRUPTS.****ARMITAGE, W.**, Sowerby-bridge, Yorkshire, victualler.**BACON, H. A.**, Sheffield, printer.**BOOT, J.**, Wednesbury, Staffordshire, victualler.**DAVIES, T.**, Liverpool, currier.**EVANS, J.**, of the Tything of Whistones, Worcestershire, horse-dealer.**GRIMBLE, J., sen., and J. Grimble, jun.**, Elm-street, Gray's-Inn-lane, coach-spring-makers.**ISEMONGER, T. T.**, Little Hampton, Sussex, merchant.**THACKERAY, D., J. Thackeray, and J. Baldwin**, Walton, Lancashire, brewers.**WATSON, D., J. Maginnin, and S. Perrin**, Beswick, Lancashire, glass-manufacturers.**WOODHOUSE, T., jun.**, Milk-street, Cheap-side, hosier.**SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.****BLACK, J.**, Edinburgh, builder.**JOHNSTON, J.**, Edinburgh, grocer.**LONDON MARKETS.**

**MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, April 8.**—The arrivals fresh up to this day's market were very limited, but added to the supplies remaining over from last week, owing to no market having been held on Friday, caused the stands to exhibit a tolerably fair show of samples, few of which however proved of fine quality; the better descriptions experienced a slow sale at a reduction of 1s. per quarter on the prices of this day se'nnight, and secondary and inferior were nearly unsalable at 2s. lower rates. Old Wheat was dull and rather cheaper. No transactions took place in bonded qualities, although a partial inquiry still existed.

Barley was in good supply. Malting parcels were 1s. lower than last Monday, and owing to the little attention that distilling and grinding descriptions met with, the prices were nearly nominal.

Malt dull without alteration in price.

The supply of Oats was rather large and the article moved heavily off hand, at last week's quotations.

Old Beans were in little demand and the turndearer. New maintained their quotations.

Peas were without alteration.

The large arrival of flour has rendered the trade dull and rather lower.

|                      |              |
|----------------------|--------------|
| Wheat.....           | 54s. to 61s. |
| Rye.....             | 32s. to 34s. |
| Barley.....          | 21s. to 23s. |
| — fine.....          | 30s. to 33s. |
| Peas, White.....     | 30s. to 32s. |
| — Boilers.....       | 36s. to —s.  |
| — Grey.....          | 28s. to 29s. |
| Beans, Small.....    | —s. to —s.   |
| — Tick.....          | 27s. to 29s. |
| Oats, Potato.....    | 22s. to 24s. |
| — Feed.....          | 13s. to 18s. |
| Flour, per sack..... | 48s. to 50s. |

**PROVISIONS.**

**Bacon, Middles, new**, 38s. to 40s. per cwt.

— Sides, new... 40s. to 43s.

**Pork, India, new...** 117s. 6d. to —s.

— Mess, new ... 67s. to —s. per barrel.

**Butter, Belfast** ... 72s. to 74s. per cwt.

— Carlow ... 66s. to 76s.

— Cork ... 70s. to 72s.

— Limerick ... 68s. to 70s.

— Waterford... 60s. to 66s.

— Dublin ... 52s. to 60s.

**Cheese, Cheshire** ... 50s. to 74s.

— Gloucester, Double... 48s. to 52s.

— Gloucester, Single... 48s. to 52s.

— Edam ... 40s. to 50s.

— Gouda ... 40s. to 50s.

**Hams, Irish** ... 44s. to 54s.

**SMITHFIELD.—April 8.**

In this day's market, which exhibited of each kind of fat stock but a limited supply, trade was throughout very dull. With Beef,

Mutton and Pork, at barely Friday's prices ; with Lamb at a depression of 4d., Veal at 2d. per stone.

The beasts appeared to consist of about equal numbers of short-horns and Devons (mostly) Steers and Oxen ; Scots, Norfolk home-breds, and Welsh runts, chiefly (say about 1,200 of them) from Norfolk, with a few from Essex, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, and our western and midland districts ; with about 150 Herefords, as many Irish, and about 60 Sussex beasts from various quarters ; about 100 Town's-end Cows, a few Staffords, &c.

Full three-fourths of the Sheep were new Leicesters, of the South Down and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about two of the former to five of the latter ; about an eighth South Downs, and the remaining eighth about equal numbers of polled Norfolks, Kents, and Kentish half-breds, with a few horned Norfolks, old Leicesters and Lincolns, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, horned Dorsets, &c.

[MARK-LANE.—Friday, April 12.

The arrivals this week are good. The market dull at the prices of Monday.

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